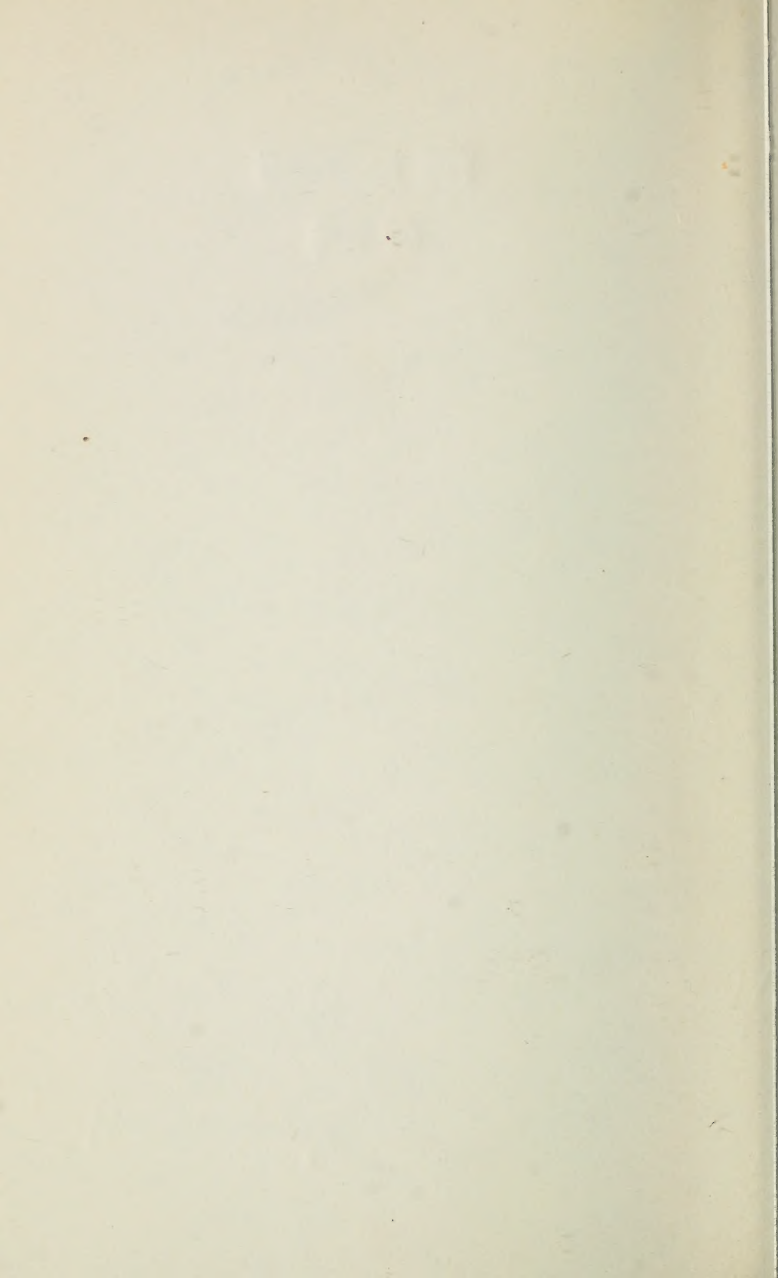

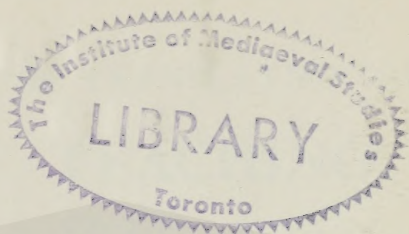


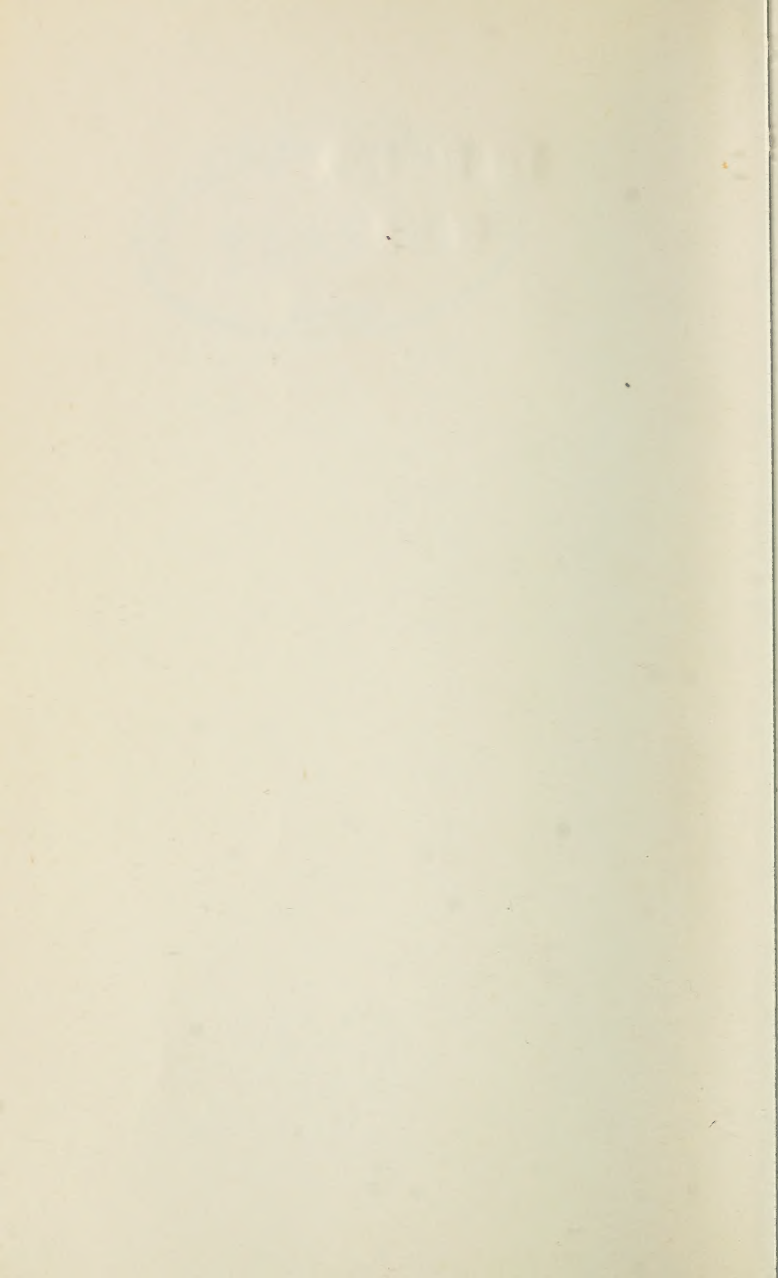
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THE TEACHING
OF THE
TWELVE APOSTLES





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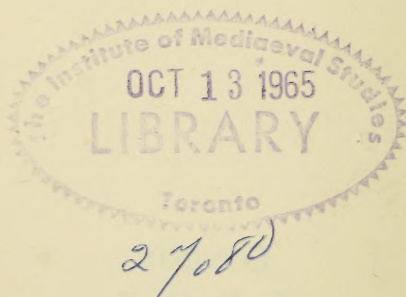
TEXTS FOR STUDENTS, No. 13A

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF
THE TEACHING
OF THE
TWELVE APOSTLES

LONDON
S · P · C · K

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MADE IN GREAT BRITAIN

PREFACE

1. THE DOCUMENT.

THE Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, commonly called the *Didache*, is perhaps the most important discovery of recent years relating to Christian antiquity. It was found in a monastery at Constantinople by Bryennius, who published the book in 1883. No other manuscript is known, though a Latin version of part of the document is extant, and later books of Church ordinances have incorporated much of it.

2. AUTHOR AND DATE.

The author is unknown. The date is still a matter of controversy after some forty years. If the tract dates from a very early time—say the end of the first century—it is our only piece of contemporary evidence for certain phases of Church life in the period between the New Testament and the developed Church life of the second century. But some have found it difficult to believe that there ever was a state of the Church like that here described. They are therefore inclined to place the document in the latter half of the second century, and to call it an imaginative reconstruction of supposed primitive conditions. Or at best it is thought to reflect the practice of a remote community out of touch with the main stream of Church life.

Such arguments are unsatisfactory. A better test is provided by the Epistle of Barnabas, which is generally dated about 75 A.D. or about 130 A.D. The first half of the *Didache*, the so-called "Two Ways," comes in both

documents, and to decide which uses the other, or whether both draw upon an earlier Jewish document, is a literary problem of great interest, which is as yet unsolved. If the *Didache* uses Barnabas, some support is given to those who minimize its importance.

3. SOME PROBLEMS.

The student is invited to look up the Scripture references, and in the light of the use made of the Old Testament to judge whether the author is quoting the books of the New Testament or is merely dependent upon oral tradition. The Eucharist and the ministry as here described present problems of great importance. The Eucharist should be compared with the accounts given in 1 Corinthians and Justin Martyr. The picture of the ministry—a local ministry of bishops and deacons and one of apostles and prophets linking the community to the universal Church—should be compared with that drawn in the Pastoral Epistles and in St. Ignatius.

4. BOOKS.

The present edition is meant to be used as a companion to the Greek text, No. 13 of this series, price 4d. The translation is Dr. Bigg's (very slightly revised), whose edition, brought up to date by Dr. A. J. Maclean (S.P.C.K., 1922), is the best for the non-specialist reader. The standard English translation is in Lightfoot-Harmer's edition of the *Apostolic Fathers*; there is one by Professor Lake in the Loeb series. For the literary problem, Dr. Armitage Robinson's *Barnabas, Hermas, and the Didache* (S.P.C.K., 1920) is indispensable; see also V. Bartlet's criticism of it in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, April, 1921. The present edition has been prepared for press by the editorial staff of S.P.C.K., under the supervision of the committee.

THE TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES

TEACHING OF THE LORD THROUGH THE TWELVE APOSTLES TO THE GENTILES

I.—(1) THERE are two Ways, one of Life and one of Death, and there is much difference between the two Ways. (2) *The Way then of Life* is this : Firstly, *thou shalt love God* who made thee : secondly, *thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself : and whatsoever thou wouldest not have done to thyself, do not thou either to another.* (3) Now the teaching of these words is this : *Bless them which curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for them which persecute you. For what thank have ye, if ye love them which love you ? Do not even the Gentiles the same ? But do ye love them which hate you, and ye shall have no enemy.* (4) *Abstain from fleshly and bodily lusts. If any one give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect. If any compel thee to go one mile, go with him two : if any take thy cloak, give him also thy tunic : if any take from thee what is thine, ask for it not again : for indeed thou canst not.*¹ (5) *Give to every one*

(1) Cf. Barn. xviii. 1. (2) Jer. xxi. 8 ; Matt. xxii. 37, 39 ; Lev. xix. 18 ; Tob. iv. 15 ; Acts xv. 20, 29 (Western text) ; cf. Barn. xix. 1, 2, 5. (3) Matt. v. 44, 46 ; Luke vi. 27, 28, 32, 33, 35. (4) 1 Pet. ii. 11 ; Matt. v. 39-42, 48 ; Luke vi. 29, 30. (5) Luke vi. 30 ; Matt. v. 26 ; cf. Herm., *Mand.* ii. 4-7.

¹ So the Greek. Lake says "not even if thou canst" must be the intended sense.

that asketh thee, and ask it not again; for the Father wills that we should give to all from His own gifts. Blessed is he that giveth according to the commandment: for he is guiltless: woe to him that receiveth: for if one receiveth because he hath need, he shall be guiltless: but he that hath no need shall render account why he received and for what, and being cast into straits shall be examined concerning what he did, and shall not come out thence till he have paid the uttermost farthing. (6) But about this it hath also been said: *Let thine alms sweat into thy hands, until thou know to whom thou art to give.*

II.—(1) And the second commandment of the teaching is this: (2) *Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys, thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not use magic, thou shalt not practise sorcery, thou shalt not procure abortion, nor kill the new-born child. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods.* (3) *Thou shalt not forswear thyself, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not slander, thou shalt not bear malice.* (4) *Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-tongued: for a double tongue is a snare of death.* (5) *Thy word shall not be false, nor empty, but fulfilled in deed.* (6) *Thou shalt not be covetous, nor extortionate, nor a hypocrite, nor spiteful, nor arrogant. Thou shalt not take evil counsel against thy neighbour.* (7) *Thou shalt hate no man, but some thou shalt reprove, and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love more than thy soul.*

(6) Source unknown.

(2) Exod. xx. 13-17; Matt. xix. 18; cf. Barn. xix. 4-6. (3) Matt. v. 33; cf. Barn. xix. 4. (4) Cf. Barn. xix. 7, 8. (6) Cf. Barn. xix. 6, 3. (7) Lev. xix. 17, 18; Jude 22; cf. Barn. xix. 5.

III.—(1) My child, flee from all evil and from all that is like it. (2) Be not wrathful: for wrath guideth to murder: nor a zealot, nor contentious, nor quick to anger: for from all these things murders are begotten. (3) My child, be not lustful, for lust guideth to fornication: nor a filthy talker, nor one of high looks: for from all these things adulteries are begotten. (4) My child, *be not an augur*: for it guideth to idolatry: nor an enchanter, nor an astrologer, nor a purifier,¹ nor do thou consent to look on these things: for from all these things idolatry is begotten. (5) My child, be not a liar: for the lie guideth to theft: nor a lover of money, nor vainglorious: for from all these things thefts are begotten. (6) My child, be not a murmurer: for it guideth to blasphemy: nor self-willed; nor evil-minded; for from all these things blasphemies are begotten. (7) But be meek, for *the meek shall inherit the earth*. (8) Be long-suffering, and merciful, and harmless, and *quiet*, and good, and *trembling* always at the words that thou didst hear. (9) Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor give boldness to thy soul. Thy soul shall not cleave to the lofty, but with the just and lowly shalt thou walk. (10) The providences² that befall thee thou shalt welcome as good, knowing that without God nothing cometh to pass.

IV.—(1) My child, night and day shalt thou remember him that speaketh to thee the *Word of God*, and thou shalt honour him as the Lord, for in him by whom the Lordship

(4) Lev. xix. 26, LXX. (7) Matt. v. 5; cf. Barn. xix. 4. (8) Isa. lxvi. 2; cf. Barn. xix. 4. (9) Cf. Barn. xix. 3, 6. (10) Cf. Barn. xix. 6.

(1) Heb. xiii. 7; cf. Barn. xix. 9, 10.

¹ *Purifier*. 'Magician,' Lightfoot, Lake.

² *Providences*. 'Accidents,' Lightfoot, Lake.

is spoken of is the Lord.¹ (2) And daily shalt thou seek out the faces of the saints, that thou mayest rest on their words. (3) Thou shalt not desire² division, but shalt set at peace them that strive: thou shalt judge justly; thou shalt not regard persons, when thou rebukest for transgressions. (4) Thou shalt not be double-minded, whether a thing shall be or not. (5) *Be not one that holdeth out his hands to receive and shutteth them for giving.* (6) If thou have aught in thy hands, thou shalt give a ransom for thy sins. (7) Thou shalt not doubt to give, nor shalt thou murmur when thou givest: for thou shalt know who is the good Requiter of the reward. (8) Thou shalt not turn away from him that hath need, but shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say *that aught is thine own*: for, if ye are partners in the eternal, how much more are ye partners in the perishable? (9) Thou shalt not remove thy hand from thy son, or from thy daughter, but from youth up shalt teach them the fear of God. (10) Thou shalt not command thy servant or thy hand-maiden, who hope in the same God, in thy bitterness, lest they fear not the God who is over both: for He cometh not to call according to respect of persons, but on those whom the Spirit prepared. (11) And ye, servants, shall be subject to your masters, as to a type of God, in modesty and fear. (12) Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy, and all that

(2) *Cf.* Barn. xix. 10. (3) Deut. i. 16; Prov. xxxi. 9; John vii. 24; *cf.* Barn. xix. 11, 12, 4. (4) *Cf.* Barn. xix. 5. (5) Eccus. iv. 31; *cf.* Barn. xix. 9. (6) *Cf.* Barn. xix. 10. (7) *Cf.* Barn. xix. 11. (8) Acts iv. 32; *cf.* Barn. xix. 8. (9) *Cf.* Barn. xix. 5. (10) *Cf.* Barn. xix. 7. (11) *Cf.* Barn. xix. 7. (12) *Cf.* Barn. xix. 2.

¹ "For whencesoever the Lordship speaketh, there is the Lord," Lightfoot; "for where the Lord's nature is spoken of, there is He present," Lake.

² *Desire.* So the MS. Lightfoot and Lake "make," following an emendation.

is not pleasing to the Lord. (13) Thou shalt not forsake the commandments of the Lord, but shalt keep what thou didst receive, *neither adding thereto nor taking aught away*. (14) Thou shalt confess thy transgressions in church,¹ and shalt not come to thy prayer in an evil conscience. This is the Way of Life.

V.—(1) But the Way of Death is this: first of all it is wicked and full of curse: murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, witchcrafts, sorceries, ravensings, false witnessings, hypocrisies, a double heart, guile, arrogance, malice, self-will, covetousness, filthy talking, jealousy, boldness, pride, boasting. (2) Persecutors of good men, haters of truth, loving a lie, not knowing the recompense of righteousness, not *cleaving to good*, nor to just judgment, watching not for that which is good, but for that which is evil: from whom meekness and patience are far off, loving vanity, hunting after reward, not pitying the poor man, not sorrowing over him that is weighed down by sorrow, knowing not Him that made them, murderers of children, destroyers of God's handiwork, turning aside from him that hath need, grinding down the afflicted, advocates of the rich, unjust judges of the poor, steeped in sin. May ye be delivered, my children, from all these.

VI.—(1) See that no man lead thee astray from this Way of the teaching, for he teacheth thee without God. (2) For, if thou canst bear the whole yoke of the Lord,

(13) *Cf.* Deut. iv. 2, xii. 32; Barn. xix. 11. (14) *Cf.* Barn. xix. 12.

(1) Matt. xv. 19; Rom. i. 29, 30; *cf.* Barn. xx. 1. (2) Rom. xii. 9; Ps. iv. 2; Isa. i. 23; *cf.* Barn. xx. 2.

(1) Matt. xxiv. 4.

¹ *In church.* "In the congregation," Lake.

thou shalt be perfect; but, if thou canst not, do what thou canst. (3) And as regards eating, bear what thou canst, but of meat offered to idols beware thou diligently: for it is a worship of dead gods.

VII.—(1) And concerning baptism, baptize ye thus. Having first declared all these things, *baptize into the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost* in living¹ water. (2) But if thou have not living water, baptize into other water; and, if thou canst not in cold, in warm. (3) But if thou have neither, pour water thrice upon the head into the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. (4) And before the baptism let the baptizer and him that is baptized fast, and such others as can: and thou shalt enjoin the baptized to fast for one or two days before.

VIII.—(1) And let not *your fasts* be with the hypocrites: for they fast on the second and fifth days of the week: but do ye fast on the fourth and on Friday. (2) Neither pray ye *as do the hypocrites*, but as the Lord commanded in His gospel, *so pray ye. Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our debt, as we also forgive our debtors, and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.*² For Thine is the power and the glory for ever. (3) Thrice in the day pray ye thus.

(1) Matt. xxviii. 19.

(1) Matt. vi. 16. (2) Matt. vi. 5; Matt. vi. 9-13; Luke xi. 2-4.

¹ *Living*—i.e., running.

² Or, "from the evil one."

IX.—(1) And as regards the Eucharist,¹ give thanks in this manner. (2) First for the cup. We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David, Thy servant, which Thou didst make known to us through Jesus, Thy servant.² Glory be to Thee for ever. (3) And for the broken bread. We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou didst make known to us through Jesus, Thy servant.² Glory be to Thee for ever. (4) As this bread that is broken was scattered upon the mountains, and gathered together, and became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Thy kingdom: for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever. (5) And let none eat nor drink of your Eucharist, but they that are baptized into the name of the Lord; for as touching this the Lord hath said: *Give not that which is holy to the dogs.*

X.—(1) And, after ye are filled, give thanks thus. (2) We thank Thee, *Holy Father*, for Thy holy name, which Thou hast made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge, faith, and immortality, which Thou didst make known to us through Jesus, Thy servant.² Glory be to Thee for ever. (3) *Thou*, Almighty Lord, *didst create all things* for Thy name's sake, and gavest meat and drink for men to enjoy, that they might give thanks unto Thee, and to us didst vouchsafe spiritual meat and drink and life eternal, through Thy servant. (4) Above all we thank Thee because Thou art mighty. Glory be to Thee for

(5) Matt. vii. 6.

(2) John xvii. 11. (3) Rev. iv. 11.

¹ The agape is perhaps meant; or possibly the agape and Eucharist were not yet separated.

² *Servant*. "Son," Lightfoot; "child," Lake.

ever. (5) Remember, Lord, Thy church, to deliver her from all evil, and *to perfect her in Thy love*, and *gather together from the four winds* her that is sanctified into Thy kingdom which Thou didst prepare for her. For Thine is the power and the glory for ever. (6) Come grace, and let this world pass away. *Hosanna* to the God of David. If any is holy, let him come: if any is unholy, let him repent. *Maranatha*.¹ Amen. (7) But suffer the prophets to give thanks² as much as they will.

XI.—(1) Whosoever then shall come and teach you all these things aforesaid, receive him. (2) But, if the teacher himself turn and teach another doctrine to pervert, hear him not. But unto the increase of righteousness and of the knowledge of the Lord, receive him as the Lord. (3) And as touching the apostles and prophets, according to the decree of the gospel, so do ye. (4) But let every apostle that cometh unto you be received as the Lord. (5) And he shall stay one day,³ and, if need be, the next also, but, if he stay three, he is a false prophet. (6) And, when the apostle goeth forth, let him take nothing save bread, till he reach his lodging, but if he ask money, he is a false prophet. (7) And every prophet that speaketh in the spirit ye shall not try nor judge: *for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven*. (8) But not every one that speaketh in the spirit is a prophet, but if he have the manners of the Lord. By their manners then shall

(5) 1 John iv. 18; Matt. xxiv. 31. (6) Matt. ix. 15; 1 Cor. xvi. 22.
(7) Matt. xii. 31.

¹ *I.e.*, "Our Lord come."

² "To hold Eucharist," Lake.

³ "Shall not stay" is the MS. reading, which makes nonsense. Either omit "not" or add "but" after "stay."

the false prophet and the prophet be known. (9) And no prophet that orders a table in the spirit shall eat of it, else is he a false prophet. (10) And every prophet that teacheth the truth, if he doeth not what he teacheth, is a false prophet. (11) But every approved true prophet, who doeth for an earthly mystery of the church,¹ but teacheth not others to do what he himself doeth, shall not be judged among you, for he hath his judgment with God: for even so did the ancient prophets also. (12) But whosoever shall say in the spirit: Give me money, or any other thing, ye shall not hearken to him: but, if he bid you give for others that are in need, let no man judge him.

XII.—(1) Let every one that *cometh in the name of the Lord* be received, and then, when ye have proved him, ye shall know, for ye shall have understanding [to distinguish] between the right hand and the left.² (2) If he that cometh is a passer-by, succour him as far as ye can; but he shall not abide with you longer than two or three days unless there be necessity. (3) But if he be minded to settle among you, and be a craftsman, let him work and eat. (4) But, if he hath no trade, according to your understanding provide that he shall not live idle among you, being a Christian. (5) But, if he will not do this, he is a Christmonger: of such men beware.

XIII.—(1) But every true prophet, who is minded to settle among you, *is worthy of his maintenance*. (2) In like

(1) Ps. cxviii. 26; Matt. xxi. 9; Mark xi. 9; Luke xix. 38.

(1, 2) Matt. x. 10.

¹ "Though he enact a worldly mystery of the church," Lake; "if he doeth aught as an outward mystery typical of the church," Lightfoot. The meaning is obscure.

² *I.e.*, between true and false.

manner a true teacher also *is worthy*, like *the workman*, of *his maintenance*. (3) Thou shalt take therefore all first-fruits of the produce of winepress and threshing floor, of oxen and sheep, and give them to the prophets ; for they are your high priests. (4) But if ye have no prophet, give to the poor. (5) If thou art making bread, take the firstfruits and give according to the commandment. (6) In like manner, when thou openest a jar of wine or oil, take the firstfruits and give to the prophets. (7) And of money, and raiment, and of every chattel, take the first-fruits, as seemeth thee good, and give according to the commandment.

XIV.—(1) And on the Lord's day of the Lord come together and break bread and give thanks, having first confessed¹ your transgressions, that our² sacrifice may be pure. (2) But whoso hath a dispute with his fellow, let him not come together with you, until they be reconciled, that our² sacrifice be not polluted. (3) For this is that which was spoken of by the Lord. *In every place and time offer Me a pure sacrifice : for I am a great King, saith the Lord, and My name is wonderful among the Gentiles.*

XV.—(1) Elect therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and not covetous, and true and approved : for they also minister unto you the ministry of the prophets and teachers. (2) Therefore despise them not : for these are they which are honoured of you with the prophets and teachers. (3) And reprove one another, not in wrath but in peace, as ye have it in the gospel : and to him that behaveth amiss against another

(3) Mal. i. 11, 14.

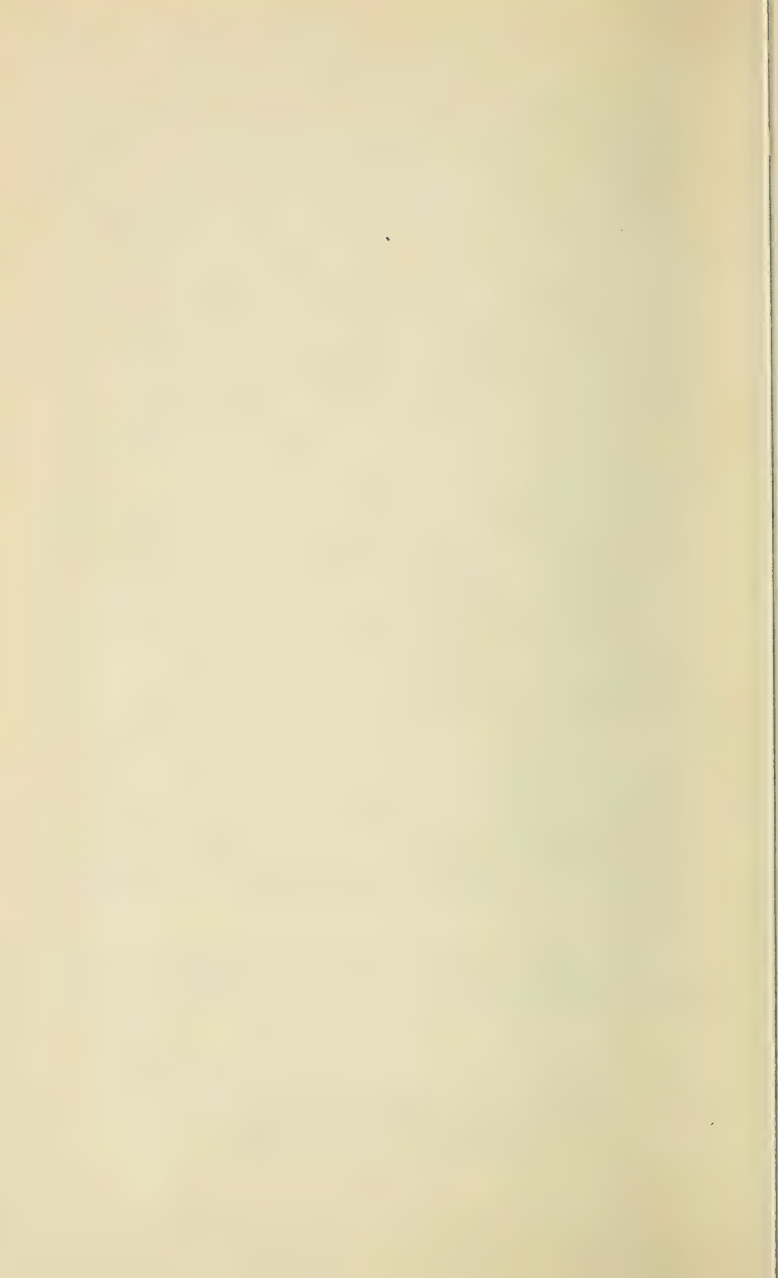
¹ *First confessed*, according to a probable emendation.

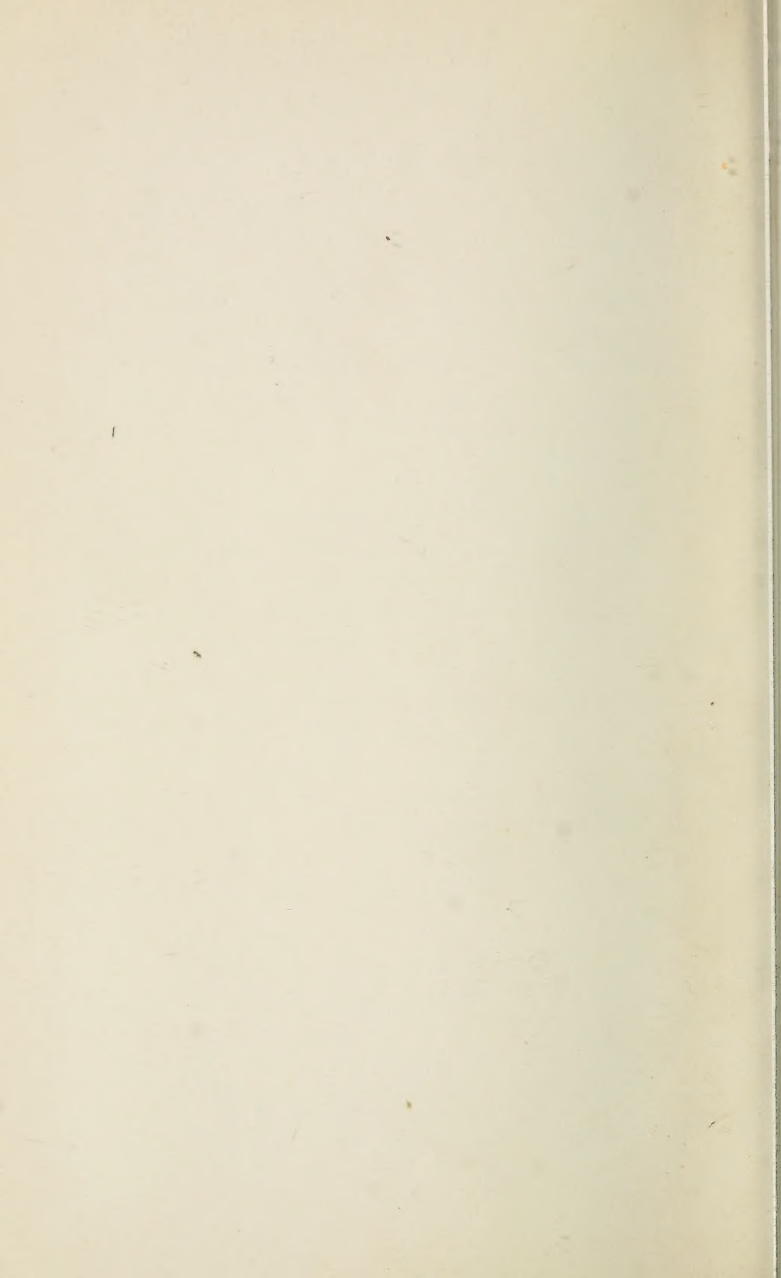
² *Our*, so the MS. ; *your* is a conjecture of editors.

let no man speak, neither let him hear a word from you, until he repent. (4) But your prayers and alms and all that ye do, do so as ye have it in the gospel of our Lord.

XVI.—(1) *Watch over your life: let not your lamps be extinguished, neither let your loins be ungirt, but be ye ready: for ye know not the hour in which our Lord doth come.* (2) But ye shall be frequently gathered together, seeking the things that belong unto your souls. For the whole time of your faith shall not profit you, except ye be perfected in the last time. (3) For in the last days *false prophets* and corrupters shall abound, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall be turned into hate. (4) For, as lawlessness increases, *they shall hate and persecute and deliver up one another; and then shall appear the World-deceiver as son of God, and shall do signs and wonders*, and the earth shall be delivered up into his hands, and he shall commit iniquities which have never been seen from the beginning. (5) Then shall the race of man come into the fiery trial of testing, and many shall be offended and perish, *but they who endure in their faith shall be saved by the Curse Himself.* (6) *And then shall appear the signs of the truth: first a sign of spreading out in heaven, then a sign of the sound of a trumpet, and the third the resurrection of the dead.* But not of all, but as it was said: *The Lord shalt come and all the saints with Him.* (7) *Then shall the world behold the Lord coming on the clouds of heaven.*

(1) Matt. xxv. 13; Luke xii. 35, 40. (3) Matt. xxiv. 11, 24. (4) Matt. xxiv. 10, 30, 24; Luke xxi. 12. (5) Matt. xxiv. 13; cf. Gal. iii. 13. (6) Matt. xxiv. 30; Zech. xiv. 5. (7) Matt. xxiv. 30.





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